1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

292
301
142

A Gankwe dancer.

[Facing P. 8]

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

765 head was clearest in the quiet of the early morning. A stillness so pronounced that we could feel it surrounded us at the base camp, for at Gankwe the drums had been replaced in the shrines of the gods for whom they speak, and no more guns saluted the spirit of Zimbi, or warned away the evil dead with the powder which was distasteful to ghosts. Zimbi was buried, the grave diggers had bathed [183] and put on fresh loin cloths, the village had been purified, and all was still.

512 From our shelter, watching the haze lift, we could see that the river had fallen; the tangled grasses at the bank showed fully a hand's breadth of fresh brown that had the day before been under water. With the coming of the sun things began to stir. The lizards appeared, the [231] chickens came to peck at our shoes, looking for crumbs, and boats began to make shadows across the opposite bank, as the Gankwe women in their small corials went to their fields. At the bow would be a little girl, or a yet smaller [868] boy—as young as four perhaps, for the older ones went with the men to learn a man's work—helping to take the boat up the fast water. All this went on quietly, until we espied three boats running down the rapids and pivoting about in the still water toward our landing place. As they 438 came nearer, we could see that the boats carried no load, and our host, the director of the balata-collecting station, explained that these boats were new and were being taken down river for sale.

"All the large boats come from top-side," he said. "The men take them clear around to the Marowyne River by way of the canals and there carry loads in them to the stations in the interior. The Saramacca men are fine canoemen. They like them on the Marowyne. . . . You could 439 use a large boat for your trip up river. Maybe the man will sell one."

• [142] [304] The man in charge of the little flotilla stood more than six feet tall. His face was intricately cicatrized, and he carried himself with a dignity and reserve that surpassed even the way of the village chiefs.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

which went on, so that she might recount it to her father. The women of the village walked "softly" with this older daughter. "Daughter of the G'aman," they called her when they addressed her, and her mildly spoken, persuasive suggestions were never ignored.

Wilhelmina, however, busied herself at her work, and if anything were asked of her, she would look up with an expression of bewilderment. Differing from other women of the village, who had come to live there after marriage and knew the speech of the less aristocratic down-river settlements, Wilhelmina had never been any distance from Asindopo Lantiwe. The other women were, therefore, constantly interpreting the questions which were being put to her.

She was dark of skin, as dark as her sister, but her face had a flush of red in it, as though she had brushed it with the sacred red kuswe. A little above her wrists gleamed wide bands of tin. These were bracelets her husband had made for her, and they were much prized. The brass coils which she once wore had been filed through and removed, for when the ankles of a woman who bore children swelled, it became necessary to be rid of these ornaments.

In a small mortar, decorated with carvings, she was pounding maripa nuts. The ends of the pestle were bordered with finely cut cross hatchings.

"Ai, we use much palm oil here," she said.

Her mother was paring cassava. At her feet were several baskets and pieces of bark, shaped like miniature canoes, into which she threw the peeled cassava. Near these containers lay a sifter, woven of palm fiber, and a grater, made of a thin board perhaps sixteen inches long and half as wide, into which long slender nails had been hammered and their points filed to a needle-like sharpness. When the tubers were peeled, Wilhelmina began the grating, first squatting down, then dropping to her knees, better to work. The grated cassava was then packed into the matapi, the cassava press which had before leaned against the house. This matapi was of a basket-like weave, golden in color

1tHerskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

mother. The woman who had made Bayo was her sister, she told us.

The resemblance between this woman and Bayo was marked. She had the same dark skin, the same stocky, muscular build, the broad nose, the same general cast of features we had known so well in Bayo. Similar, too, were the sharply etched scars on her face, which were so black and so prominent as to bespeak her great vitality and rugged health. There were other likenesses, we learned, and of these the most valued was the strength of their gods.

We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a "*tapu*"—a magical preventive which, in this instance, warned its wearer of danger, and kept her from harm in a combat. Seeing it on the arm of a woman was astonishing for many reasons. Not in all our encounters on the river had we seen a woman wearing an arm obia of iron. Iron was the sign of the Kromanti, a men's group, composed of those men who had the Kromanti spirit. It was in part warriors' secret society, and in part, when it was Obia Kromanti, the men's religious society which controlled the powerful supernatural forces of preventive and healing magic which played so prominent a part in the spiritual life of the Bush Negro. Now there were, we had been told, some women who inherited the Kromanti spirit, but these were few, and not until after their menopause could they enter a Kromanti house, and when this came they were too old to participate in the dance, but they sang the songs when the spirit came to them and did whatever else was known to the initiated of their years.

But this woman who was Bayo's mother's sister was not an old woman. As she talked to us, in fact, her breast was swung over to the side, and against her ribs was the head of the child on her back who was nursing. Yet on her arm was the fighter's "tapu," as the emblem of membership in the Kromanti group.

This was so important an anomaly that, following the etiquette of the bush, we hastened at once to talk about something else.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"Suma de, ai," he acknowledged.

6

Bayo remained in the bush, but he did not come to the city with us, though he took us into the Awka villages as captain of our boat. While at the base camp, he busied himself with making small models of traps and snares, and whatever other examples of Bush Negro work we needed to augment our collection.

He was a poor weaver, for he was no craftsman at all. But on the river he showed almost superhuman strength, and his knowledge of obia and the gods showed his potentialities for achieving what he most desired—to become an obia man. It may well be that his great kunu had planted this ambition in him. Perhaps, if he became a renowned obia man, one of the greatest on the river, he would outwit the combined power of ancestors and gods. His physical strength was such that all seemed possible to him, and his eye was quick, his curiosity unbounded. As a child of incest, a twofold member of his clan, he had certain immunities from the gods, though his line would all the more be flayed by the punishment which his parentage had earned.

"White man," he would say to us, "the next time you come, I will go with you to Africa. By then, I shall have given my wife children, and my sister's children will be grown. I want to go to Africa to learn obia."

His young brother was not strong. Bayo allowed them to cut no kamemba on the boy, who was now almost eleven, and it was clear that he would not be able to go through the Kromanti initiation, that he would have few gods.

"What will you do then, Bayo?"

God alone knew. He did not expect that even in Africa he could learn all he needed to know to help his young brother.

"Would he go with Bibifo?" we ventured, remembering that Bibifo had become Adrian.

He laughed. The white man asked many questions.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

291
142
137

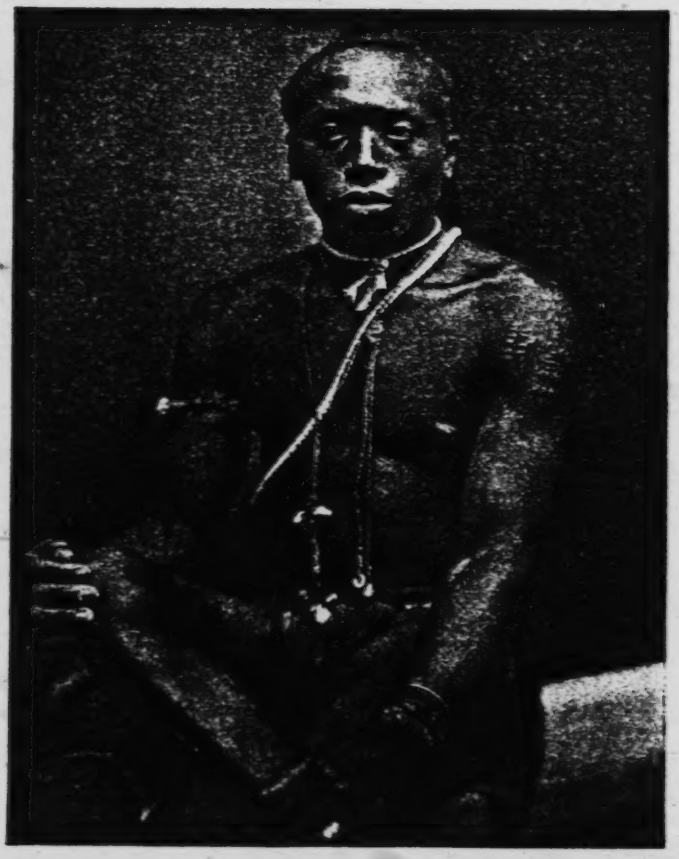
A Saramacca elder,
who has Tiger spirit.

Bayo inspects an obia leaf.

[Facing P 332]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

142
291
304
301



A Typical Bush Negro of the Aucaner Tribe, Lower Cottica River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on arm.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 16]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

142
291
301
302

Aucaner Woman and Children. Upper Comotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 24]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle. 484

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take 648 up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra."*— "Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky [142] hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each [291] paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to [415]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

142
291
501
854

Bush Negro Group Showing Unfinished Dug-Out Canoe Hewn with Axe.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 40]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

142
291

Bush Negroes of the Aucaner Tribe Who were Induced to Come to Paramaribo to Dance Before Colonel Lindbergh When the Air Mail Route Was Opened to Dutch Guiana

Photo Given to Dr. Kahn by American Consul to Dutch Guiana, James R. Lawton

[Facing p. 54]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

142
534
531

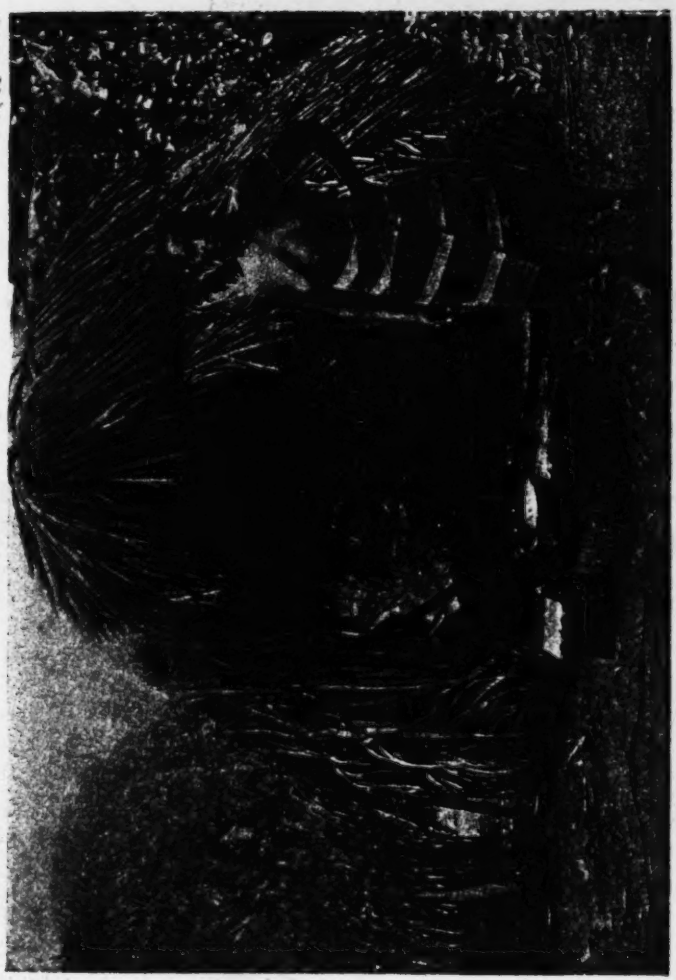
Youth of the Boni Tribe Playing Dance Music on the "Apenti" or Signal Drum. Marowyne River, French Guiana. Drum Carved from a Single Section of Tree Trunk.

Kahn-Granger Collection, American Museum of Natural History

[Facing p. 58]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

142
291
342
415
531



An Aucaner Mother. Note the Cassava Cakes Cooking Inside the Kitchen.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 64]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

142
291
3+2

A Family Group, Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 92]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

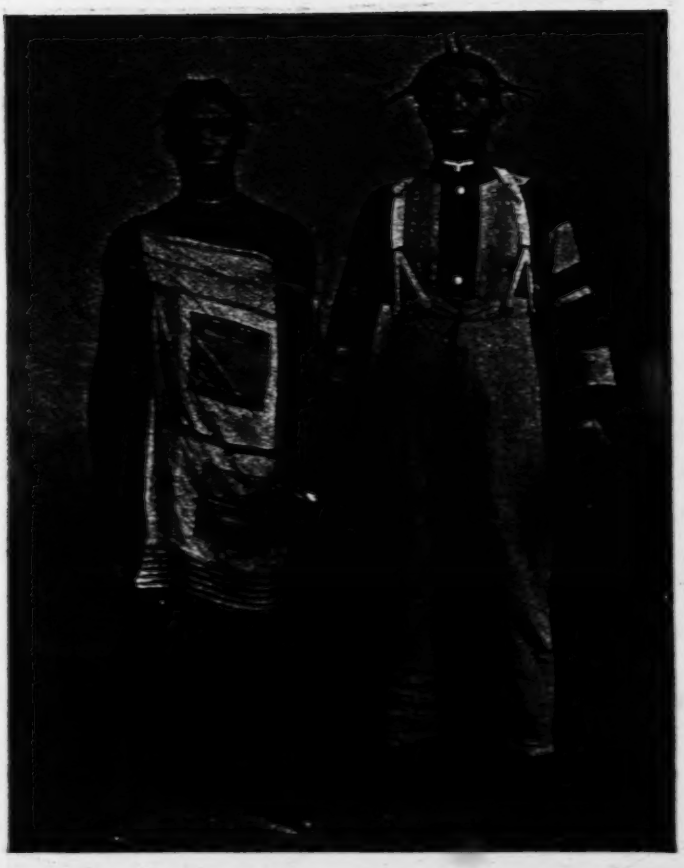
142
301
291

Bush Negro Man of the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 94]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

142
301
302
291
531



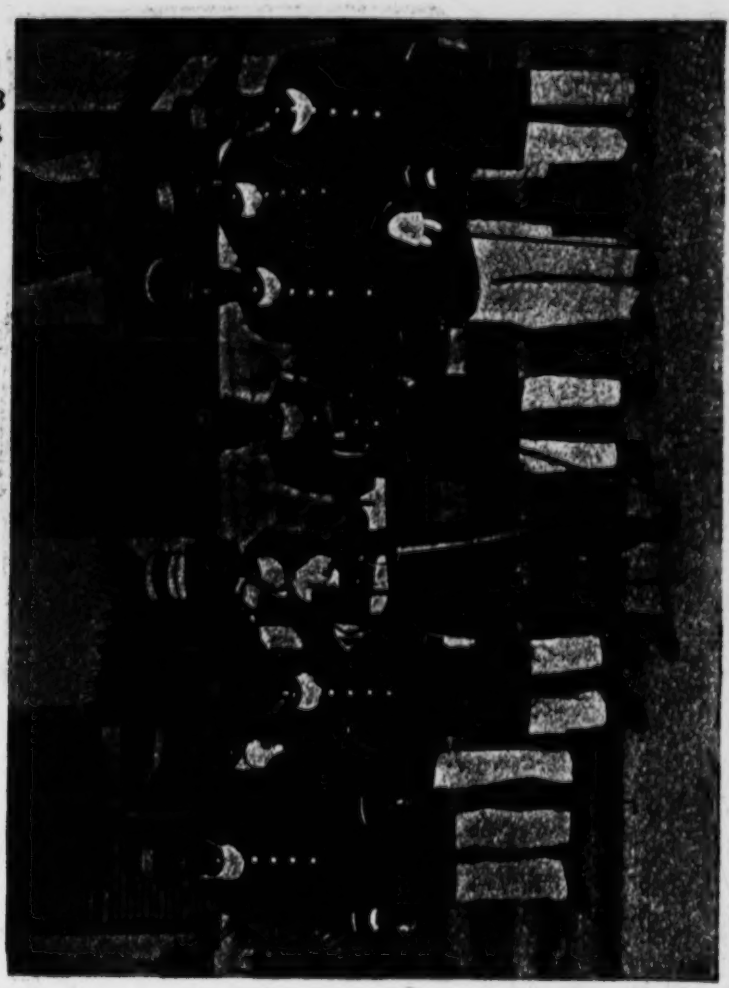
Bush Negro Men Visiting Paramaribo, the Capitol of Dutch Guiana.

Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 98]

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

648
622
643
293
292
301
142



Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Curiel

[Facing p. 102

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

142
291
531
301

Bush Negroes of the Saramaccaner Tribe, Upper Surinam River.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 110]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

112
241
342
301
531

A Bush Negro Mother on the Lower Saramacca River.

[Facing p. 112]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Paramacca

142
291
604

Bush Negro Men of the Paramacca Tribe, Middle Marowyne River, French Guiana. The child is being tended by its maternal uncle, who, in the social structure of these people, takes the place of the father in tending the children.

[Facing p. 120]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramaccaner

142
301
291
831

Bush Negro Women of the Saramaccaner Tribe.
Photo by Klein

[Facing p. 122]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

142
291
301
302
531

Bush Negro Man and Women of the Aucaner Tribe from the Tapanahoni River, Dutch Guiana. Note scar tissue decoration on face and chest of woman at left. The central figure is "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow), one of Dr. Kahn's guides.

[Facing p. 128]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

142
301
412
291
531

A Bush Negro Woman of the Boni Tribe with a Carved Wooden Flail Used Instead of a Wringer, for Cloth. The right hand holds a tin containing an infusion of tobacco leaf and water.

[Facing p. 156]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Ancaner

142
291
302
304
531
301

Bush Negro Men of the Ancaner Tribe. Note scar tissue decoration on faces. Cottica River, Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Klein

7/162

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

142
291
531
301
302
516

"Cow Fie" (Cow Fly), Six Feet Tall, and "Moi-Man" (Nice Fellow),
Two Expert Canoemen from the Upper Tapanahoni River.
Aucaner Tribe.

[Facing p. 166]

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Aucaner

142
291
412
531
516

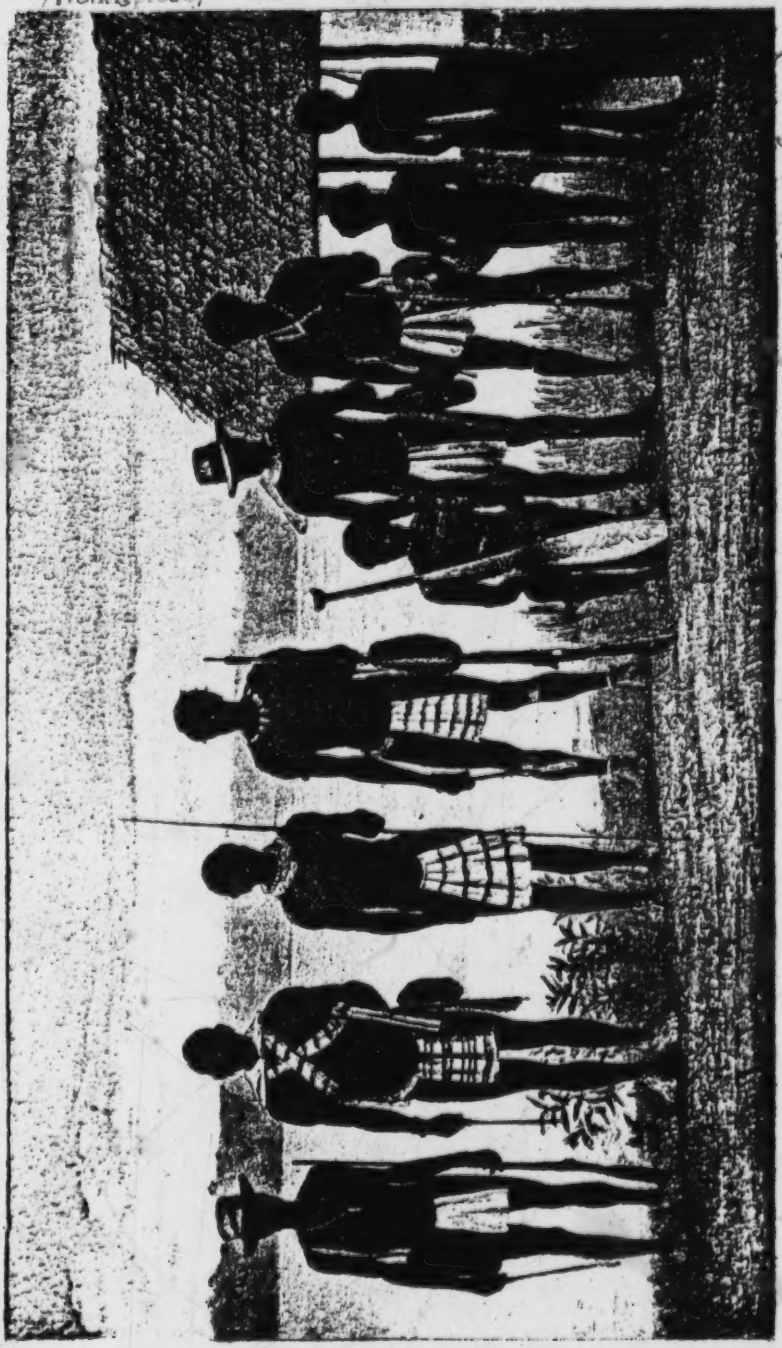
Bush Negro Man, "Amehkimoi" (Makes Nice Things), with a Carved and Inlaid Pot Stirrer Which He Has Just Completed for His Wife. *Aucaner Tribe,* Upper Cormotibo River, Dutch Guiana.

[Facing p. 172]

3: Coster--i F-5 (ca. 1857) 1866 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/Frontispiece/

142
291
301
302
411
501
516



Bush Negroes in the Colony of Surinam

137
241

Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri; weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.

[142]
[291]
[482]
[516]

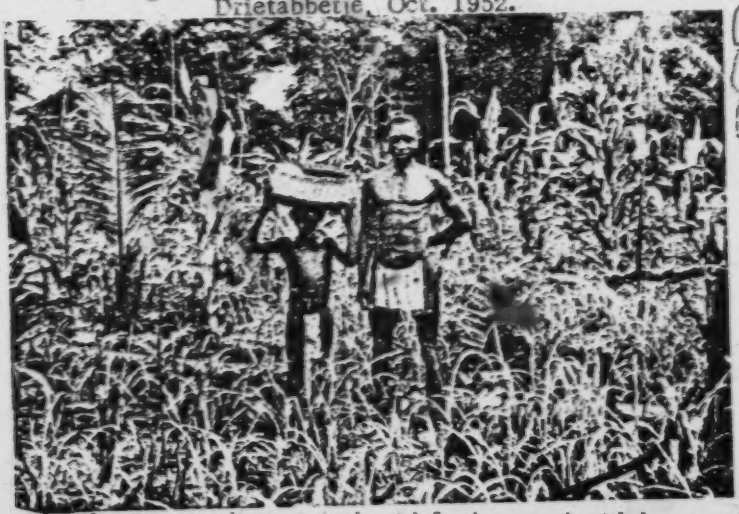


Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

252
516

Fig. 9. Baking cassava bread on the iron baking plate (the "pan"). -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[142]
[291]
[412]

Fig. 10. Pounding the expressed pieces of cassava (in the pan in the foreground) to flour in a wooden mortar (the "matta") in order to bake bread with it. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

142 ●
291
302
516
[243]

Fig. 11. Threshing the rice ears on a sack with the feet. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, June 1952.

[245]
[415]

Fig. 12. The fruits of the pina palm are collected in a basket; a beverage is made from the fruit-pulp. -- Marowijne, Albina, April 1953.

[272]

6:Hurault--10a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

142
291
301
302
501
516

Fig. 1. Boni type.

/11 cont./

142 Certain somatic characteristics are found frequently among them. The /12/ majority of individuals are dolichocephalic,
144 slightly platyrrhine, have thick, flattened-out lips. These characteristics bring more especially to mind the populations of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. The human types of the Congo and Equatorial Africa in general are rarely seen among the Refugee Blacks. This is a surprising finding, given the diversity of origin
175 of the slaves imported into Surinam. The fact can be attributed to the very special conditions under which the tribes of Refugee Blacks were formed: much more than from massive revolts, they were born of kinds of "maquis," enlarged from age to age, of all those who escaped at the peril of their lives. One can think that the majority of these indomitable people must have come from the large tribes of the African west, more combative and more thoroughly organized. The archives of the colony of Surinam, like those of French Guiana, pointed out especially that the "Coromantin" Negroes (that is, it seems, the ones who came from the Ashanti country) were so intractable that they could hardly be utilized and that they were found at the origin of most of the revolts.

144 Even if the Refugee Blacks do not represent one race in the rigorous sense of the term, they give, compared with the Blacks of America in general, a striking sensation of homogeneity and
175 unity. Actually, it is important to remark that they have practical-
144 ly only African blood; mulattoes were rare in Surinam plantations in the 18th century, for the documents of the time attest that most of these, more sensitive to malaria than the Blacks, were employed as workmen in Paramaribo. They must have had few chances to run away, and few of them would have been able to stand for very long the rebels' exceptionally harsh conditions of living.
144 The Refugee Blacks, thought of as representatives of the main African Negro race, can thus be considered a homogeneous

6:Hurault--107a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 76/

142
291
302
342
353
231
411
417
531

Fig. 15. House type of the Refugee Blacks; Loabi village (Djuka of the Upper Tapanahoni).

G:Hurault--245a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

769
782
415
291

Fig. 22. Offering of food to the ancestors.

764
789
142
292
516
482

Fig. 23. Interrogation of the dead person.

c:Hurault--342a K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/A2.a/

142
291
301
302
787
342

Fig. 26. Woman possessed by a Papa gadu god.

291
534
535
342
787

Fig. 27. Dance of possession (Papa gadu worship).